## Hungry Christmas for **Millions**

## "Feel towards them as men should"

One may try to speak accurately about famine by quoting figures and comparing estimates. For every Englishman who stops to study your tables and your careful general statements a hundred will prefer the local Odeon.

One may try to put life and urgency into the blank but ominous figures by relating eye-witness stories of starvation in Athèns, and by putting up on hoardings photographs of hungry children which extort a shudder from the most callous passer-by. But the stories will be forgotten and the pictures too, unless those who pause to consider "feel towards them as men should" (as Keynes described the attitude of Hoover and his friends to Europe 25 years ago).

O feel, it is necessary to share, and there are perhaps only two ways of sharing; the way of imagination and the way of experi-

Imagination will not venture far into the reality behind these figures and photographs unless, like the imagination of Dante, it would pierce into the depths of Hell-

When I awoke dark on my stony hed
I heard my children weeping in their sleep
Them who were with me, and they cried for
bread.

Cruel art thou if thou from tears canst keep To think of what my heart misgave in fear. If thou weep not, at what then canst thou weep?

To realize the horror of famine through the anguish of a helpless parent who sees his children die for want of bread is terrible enough. How much worse when children are hungry not by natural disaster but by deliberate action of men! Here is Hell

By now they were awake, and the hour drew

When food should be set by us on the floor. Still in the trouble of our dreams we were: And down in the horrible tower I heard the door

Locked up. Without a word I looked anew Into my sons' faces, all the four. wept not, so to stone within I grew. They wept . . .

Three years and more ago the blockade locked up the door of hungry Europe. Mr. Churchill slammed and locked that iron door in August, 1940, and if a little aid now reaches Greece, if the door seems ajar, still it is, as Harold Nicolson said last month, on a strong hidden chain.

In Athens, in October, 1,800 famished people died, hundreds from sheer hunger, more from weakness and disease. In Brussels the spectre of tuberculosis, menacing the child population of Belgium, is the unbidden guest at the Christmas table of thousands of families this year.

"Undoubtedly," says Mr. Foot, "imports from Axis sources into Greece and Belgium since the occupa-tion have exceeded exports." Undoubtedly too we have denied these friendly peoples the greater part of their food, for want of which they perish.

But would Laurence Binyon's rendering of Dante, stuck up in the market-places of England where our 1.600,000 turkeys are being sold this Christmas (with Mr. Mabane's apolo-

#### GROUND FOR HOPE

THE immediate future looks bitter and barren. But the very difference between the comparative simplicity of the end of the last war, and the ever deeper confusion into which this one is leading, is ground for hope.

This time it is likely that millions will begin to suspect that war is verily an anachronism. It will eventually be evident that war has not only failed to solve a single one of the problems which caused it, but has made each one of them insoluble at the level at which war is possible.

The period in which this realization will be penetrating men's minds sufficiently to influence their conduct may be long. But it will be decisive. That the work of pacifist education shall be abundantly developed during this period—by Peace News and the Sheppard Press—is the purpose of the Peace News Fund.

Contributions since Peace See 522 48 100

Contributions since Dec. 6: £23 4s. 10d. Total to date: £5,030 7s. 5d.

## by ROY WALKER

gies that there are not more) move the people of England to understanding and repentance for the crime that done in their name to women and children in friendly Europe?

The Italian poet can no more speak to the English people now than the German poet who said "I never heard of any crime that I might not have committed myself" can make Lord Vansittart blush in shame.

THERE remains the way of experience. Let us try hunger.

Fasting is not a common practice among us; we look askance at asceticism. Moreover, to fast for two days (which some say is too little and others think too much) is not to starve, and one may well doubt that the political consequences will be

Nevertheless, let us try hunger. will perhaps kindle some imagination in us. It may speak to those who are starving, telling them that we do indeed repent our country's share in their suffering. Might it not appeal too, to the consciences of many of our countrymen who have for too long balanced nice arguments of expediency and strategy at the expense of these same hungry people?

Will it not be at least a token of willingness to make some small sacrifice of our own rations, now or later, if by doing so more can go to hungry Europe (which is promised at most by the Atlantic City Conference only two-thirds of what is needed to maintain normal health)? From the fast some money will flow to help local or national committees working for food relief.

Somewhere in this gesture there is something for us all.

The two-day fast is from dawn on Dec. 30 to midnight on Dec. 31.

Many names and addresses have already come to Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1, in response to the statement published on Dec. 10. We expect several hundreds more as the appeal becomes more widely known.

Names are wanted only as a record, so that the sponsors may make a faithful report of the number of people known to have taken part. Among these sponsors are Vera Brittain, Muriel Lester, and Nora Waln; Dr. Alex Wood, Canon Charles Raven, Rev. Donald Soper, Dr. Alfred Salter, MP, and Corder Catchpool; a Greek clergyman, Hadjiantoniou, and others.

It is the hope of all that no questions of sect or party will hinder from participating those who feel that the gesture is a right one.

Vanity of Victory

HE vanity-and worse-of military victory is well illustrated by three items in the press of Dec. 20. Speaking of the chaos produced throughout Italy by our attack, Capt. Liddell Hart says:

"The spectacle of this slow grinding mode of delivery and its consequences is hardly calculated to encourage the other peoples of occupied Europe to greet our approach with joy." (Daily Mail, Dec. 20.)

Mr. Roosevelt, having sacrificed most of the New Deal legislation in order to create "unity" for his warpolicy, finds that he has done so in vain. On his return from his conference the concept to him is more ences the opposition to him is more bitter than ever. Congress has turned down his taxation programme. Sixteen railway companies in the teen railway companies in the Southern States have flatly refused to obey an order instructing them to give jobs to Negroes as firemen. Says one Southern Democratic Senator:

"One of the most fundamental issues is this fool idea of Roosevelt's . . . that he can make the South accept the Negro as an equal." (N.-Chronicle, Dec. 20.)

The third from Russia: concerning its new military academies: "this fascinating new development" as Paul Winterton calls it.

"The schools would have a somewhat similar routine to the old Tsarist cadet corps. Old officers 'who graduated in the former cadet corps would be taken into consultation... This new step requires no comment. Its aim is clear—to provide an elite group of officers with excentional privileges and conportunities: exceptional privileges and opportunities in education." (N.-Chronicle, Dec. 20.)

The military triumph of the four freedoms-retrogression everywhere.

#### Firmer, Newer Order?

Eden's statement on Teheran conference did not add much illumination; but perhaps one portion of it deserves attention. After saying that Germany's game would certainly be to attempt to divide the Allies, and "thus to prepare for the next war," he went on:

"This recutrent threat of war can only be met if there is an international order firmer in strength and unity than any enemy that can seek to challenge it. Is there or is there not the possibility of creating such an order? Do the foundations exist?

THE EDITOR

THE EDITOR

"Six months ago I could not have given any certain answer. It might have been so; it might not have been so. But today I can give the answer. It is an emphatic Yes. The foundations do exist, and I am truly confident that Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. there is a possibility and more than a possi-

## COMMENTARY Edited by "Observer"

bility, a desire, among the three Powers for co-operation not only during the war, not only in reshaping Europe when the Armistice comes, but also, thereafter, in maintaining in the world an orderly progress and continuous peace."

#### Permanent Alliance

THERE is no room to doubt Mr. Eden's complete sincerity. So we will take him at his word. But what is it of which there is now a possibility, whereas six months ago even the possibility was uncertain? He speaks ambiguously here. What is now possible is "an international is now possible is "an international order firmer in strength and unity than any enemy." Obvouisly, the phrase "an international order" is being used very loosely here. It means a permanent alliance between the Big Three, with the possible addition of China. Equally obviously, this can only be a possibility. Nothing has changed the fact that the participation of the USA in any such alliance depends on its receiving such alliance depends on its receiving the approval of a two-thirds majority in the US Senate. Moreover, it is in-creasingly probable that, although President Roosevelt may himself be elected for a fourth term, he will be faced by a definitely hostile Senate and Congress. The one chance of the Senate approving an alliance of this kind, I should say, was that the world order which the new alliance was to defend was one that commanded the general approval of American sentiment. Even so, the chances are not

#### No Clear Agreement

SPEECH of Mr. Sumner Welles on Oct. A 16, of which the full text has just reached me, throws some light on this matter. Mr. Welles is a fervent supporter of President Roosevelt, in spite of the fact that, apparently under pressure from big business, Roosevelt recently had to drop him as Assistant Secretary of the State Department. He is now trying to educate American opinion into the necessity of participating in an international organization of peace.

"Unless the British, Soviet, Chinese, and US Governments arrive jointly at a clearcut and specific agreement upon certain basic prin-

## NEGOTIATED PEACE: APPEALS TO U.S.A.

## "Abandon Way of Evil"

A N appeal to President Roosevelt not to insist on "unconditional surrender," because the principle represents a spirit of vengeance, whereas the post-war world should be governed by reason, was made by a Turkish editor named Yalman (one of five who visited USA last year) and published by the United Press, on Aug. 10, as an open letter.

"You are victorious," he wrote from Istanbul, "therefore it is most difficult for you to understand the state of mind of the vanquished. On the contrary, we Turks, who were in the camp of the vanquished in the last war, have only to remember to understand.

"It is for you to decide whether for the first time in history we abandon the way of evil and find the way of reason.

The American journal Peace Action (Sep.) commented:

"This is the second time in this war that Mohammedan Turkey has given the so-called Christian nations an example of magnanimity, the first having been her insistence upon feeding the children of her traditional enemy, Greece, against the ruthless Churchill's wishes."

(On Nov. 1, 1941, President Inonu indicated, in the words of The Times, "that Turkey will be glad to act as mediator whenever there is a reasonable prospect for the success of such an action.")

#### CAMPAIGNERS ARRESTED

Peace Action also reported that

Peace Action also reported that "Three youths had been arrested in Chicago for distributing on a prominent street corner a flier issued by the Peace Now Movement (an independent committee headed by Dr. George H. Hartmann as temporary chairman) entitled 'Appeal for Uncommon Sense'. This flier pointed out that the war could end in one of four ways, the most hopeful of which would be a negotiated peace. The youths were kept two days in one of Chicago's filthy jails but, having been illegally arrested, were then released and distributed the rest of their fliers on the street corner without interference."

In a front-page article in The Progressive (Aug. 30), Milton Mayer

"We negotiated a peace with Darlan, we negotiated a peace with Franco, we negotiated a peace with the Anaconda Copper Company . . . We negotiated a peace with whoever seized power in Argentina last month. We have negotiated unjust peace after unjust peace wherever it served our military comfort in war and our economic aggrandizement in peace.

and our economic aggrandizement in peace.

"I, for one, am in favour of a negotiated peace now, though I opposed all the negotiated peaces we made in the twenties and thirties with Mussolini, Hitler, Hirohito, Franco, and Tom Girdler. I am in favour of a negotiated peace right now, before it is too late to do anything but ruin or be ruined, with the people of Italy, the people of Germany, and the people of Japan....

"I am in favour of kicking the Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt squarely in the pants and squarely out of office if they continue to follow the cannibalistic line of 'unconditional surrender'."

The US Catholic Worker (Oct.) featured "a clear analysis of the Papal stand on the war" and urged its readers to "beseech our President, our Senators, and Congressmen

. bring peace to a war-torn and agonized world.'

ciples, the hope of the creation of a stable world in the post-war years must necessarily be illusory."

Was any such agreement reached at Teheran? There is no reason at all to suppose so. For one of the basic principles which Mr. Welles considers essential is the following:

"That they will jointly agree not to take independent action which affects the sovereign rights of any other nation save with the con-currence of the other three powers."

If such a principle had been agreed at Teheran, there was no conceivable reason why it should not have been made public, and every reason why it should have been. It would have vastly eased the delicate situation between Russia and Poland.

(Continued on page 2)

#### PEACE **NEWS**

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## Stab in the Back

THE demand for "unconditional surrender"was foisted on Britain without consulting Parliament. It is strange that Parliament should never have been asked its opinion. Stranger still that Parliament should not have insisted on its voice being heard. Those fateful two words may well make all the difference between the loss of a million British lives and a hundred thousand, between a Europe still possible to be saved and one beyond recovery. Only think of the difference which President Wilson's fourteen points made to the least and the same of the sam fourteen points made to the last war.

Notably, it is by implicit reference to the last war that "unconditional surrender" is now defended. It is essential for the sake of future peace, we are told, that the German army shall not be able, as it did before, to push the onus of defeat on to the politicians. It must acknowledge defeat itself. So it will be discredited for ever. It sounds plausible. It is a shoddy argument nevertheless.

Look at the facts. Italy is down and out. Germany, by our own con-fession, is now fighting alone. The satellites are seeking to leave her. Germany alone is now opposed by Britain, USA, and Russia. Are not those truly fearful odds? Will the eventual surrender of the German army to such an overwhelming superiority of material force convince Germany that the defeat of her army Germany that the defeat of her army was morally deserved? What is there in such a situation to prevent the revival of the belief that the German Army was not beaten in "fair fight"? As far as sheer stubborn fighting goes, the German army has won fame enough to last for a very long while, in Sicily and Italy, on the Eastern front, and in the Aegean. The idea that you can destroy the legend of German bravery and skill in war by enforcing unconditional surrender German army is simply stupid.

Consider, too, by what means this "unconditional surrender" of the German army is being enforced. bombing one great German city after another into an inferno and shambles! Will that destroy prestige of the German army? the destruction of Rotterdam con-vince the Dutch army that they were

The argument is: We let the Germans surrender on conditions in 1918. Twenty years after the German army was more formidable than ever. This time we will demand "unconditional surrender." Then the German army will never be able to recover.

"Unconditional surrender" is conceived as the extreme form of humiliation. Has deliberate humiliation ever had any other effect than to kindle the undying flame of revenge? We have Hitler's own word for it that the collapse of Italy came near to causing the complete collapse of Germany. If, instead of "unconditional surrender," plain peace terms had been there as well the were terms had been there as well, the war in Europe might have been over by now. The German army might have been "stabbed in the back" again. The German army might have That seems to be what Mr. Churchill fears. What better could a democracy, fighting a militaristic dictator-ship, desire than that the dictatorship should be "stabbed in the back"? If Mr. Churchill does not desire it, the conclusion seems obvious.

### Unsigned articles in Peace News do not necessarily represent official PPU views.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cose of postage.

Like the Christian, whose faith sustains him in constant endeavour, despite apparent failure, the advocate of peace by negotiation cannot be deterred by lack of immediate results, says

## EDWARD ARCHBOLD: "Something attempted" is itself

## Something Accomplished

The perfection of Christ is essentially a source of encouragement to the Christian. The magnificence of the supreme example does not overawe him, nor does the consciousness of his own frailty give him a sense of hopelessness and futility. Far from it. He is confident that, though he cannot hope to attain such perfection, the attempt is fully worth-while. So it is with the pacifist and his faith.

N a country organized for any interim social concession. Like-total war and committed to wise, a man's effort at the Christian way of life does not succeed or fail absolutely; how much he is "Christ-tory, the pacifist need not like" is the degree of his success. victory, the pacifist need not despair that the clarion call of So is the task of fashioning pacifists "Peace by Negotiation" is a out of militarists—the only material available—there is no reason for gloom or despondency if we have only

The knowledge that the war is taking a decisive turn in favour of the Allies and that a military victory now be reasonably predicted should not discourage him from recognizing and propagating the funda-mental truth that a real peace can only be attained by a process of free negotiation.

Both militarist and pacifist wish this war to be terminated as speedily and surely as possible. They only differ as to means of attaining that end. Most people would agree that peace by negotiation is theoreti-cally more desirable, but unfor-tunately for mankind most people consider such an eventuality so remote as to be practically impossible.

The pacifist recognizes the exist-ence of these obstacles; but this does not imply capitulation to them.

#### PARTIAL SUCCESS

In campaigning for a negotiated peace, the pacifit is not committed to this and nothing less. He could justifiably feel amply rewarded by something very much less. For something less than a negotiated peace could easily be very much better than an outright dictated peace.

A socialist in a capitalist State. while aspiring to and working for complete socialism, can count as a success

A World Organization

"That they will jointly pledge themselves to further and to perfect, as rapidly as war-conditions may make possible, the establishment of a universal world-organization, in which, when it is ultimately established, the proposed agreement between them should be merged."

The question for Mr. Welles is whether the USA will agree to participate in this world-organization. And the burden of his speech is to ask that the question should not be prejudged.

"Until we have determined exactly what form of world-organization we believe should in our own interest be instituted, how can we tell what, if any, limitations such an organization would impose upon our sovereignty?"

"Inalienable" Rights

M. Welles then went on to say that two great moral principles must for all time be established by any world-organization to which the USA gives its approval. The first is

the inalienable right of all peoples to enjoy the freedoms of religion, of speech, and of information. Every member nation of the world-organization should be obliged to show that its citizens are guaranteed these rights.

"The second great principle likewise involves the question of human freedom . . Can the peaceful, the stable, the free world for which we hope be created if it is envisioned from the outset as half slave and half free?—if hundreds of millions of human beings are told that they are destined to remain indefinitely under alien subjection? . . I am persuaded that any international organization should establish the basic principle that no nation has the inherent and unlimited right to govern subject peoples."

Hundred-to-one Gamble HESE, then, are the principles which must

THESE, then, are the principles which must be basic to any world-organization for peace into which the USA can possibly be persuaded to enter. Unless these principles are established it is perfectly certain that the USA will not support it; and even if they are established the adherence of the USA is doubtful. What are the chances the USSR would accept the first principle, or Great Britain the second? I don't pretend to know. On their past records the chances are not great. But it is possible that im all these great nations the

**COMMENTARY** 

able of producing any practical results. gloom or despondency if we have only succeeded in making military-minded people a little more pacific.

#### GOOD AND BAD MIXED

During war, it it a common error to attribute good and evil respectively to opposite sides of the English Channel; obviously there is much that is "piebald" about friend and foe alike. Further, no-one will deny that there is something of the negotiator in the most dictatorial tyrant, and maybe just a little of the dictator in the most humble of pacific negotiators.

Even if peace by negotiation were attained who could dare to hope that it would be based on unalloyed reason, entirely free from the dross of dictation? And, by the same token, may it not be reasonably hoped that, if and when an Allied victory materializes, the dictated peace will have its vicious tendencies to some slight extent tempered by a degree of reason and the negotiating spirit?

## PACIFIST CONTRIBUTION

The pacifist has a worthy contribution to make.

In a world gone mad, it is his first duty to remain sane until the fit has passed. He has renounced war as an instrument of policy, and believes that only on reason and good will can true peace be founded. In season and out of season he must strive to convince his fellow-men of this truth.

## Continued from page 1

war has induced a certain change of heart and mind. But, putting all the evidence together, I should say that the possibility of continued agreement among the Allies for a period of ten years after the war is slight, and the possibility of their establishing a genuine world-organization for peace slighter still. But I sincerely hope the one in 100 chance comes off.

# THIS principle, it should be said, is put forward by Mr. Welles as intended to govern the actions of the Big Four in the post-war period, pending the establishment of a universal world-organization. It belongs to a body of agreements for the transitional period, of which the last clause, Mr. Welles suggests, should be:

The whole of England, Scotland, The whole of England, Scotland, and Wales is now covered by 16 Regional Boards for COs, now that the North-Eastern Regional Board (for the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire and the city of York) has been established.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

The chairman is David R. Brayshaw, of Sheffield, the secretary H. Leslie Kirkley, of Leeds, and the treasurer Denis Riley, of 13 Beech Av., Horsforth, Leeds.

Barnet.—Cyril Waghorne, 16 Gloucester Rd., New Barnet. (Barnet 2804.) Bolton.—C. Bayliss Abbatt, 580 Darwen Rd., Bromley Cross.

Long Eaton individual adviser.—Rev. Donald Chitty, 1 Albert Rd., Long Eaton. (Long Eaton

Paisley individual adviser.—Hugh Lambert, 12 Arkleston Cres., Paisley.

Sunderland.—W. Bernard Collinson, 39 Beechwood Ter., Sunderland. (Sunderland 5573; business hours, 3452.)

Whitehaven. — Rev. J. H. Vine Hall, St. Peter's Vicarage, Kells.

Two million persons have so far died in the

famine in India, according to the unofficial estimate reported by the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. During the first three years of the war the British Empire's fighting forces lost 92,089 in killed; or less than one twentieth of the lives lost in the famine. Up to October 1943, the total number of killed by air raids in this country was 50,091; or about one fortieth of the lives lost in the famine.

#### **WORDS OF PEACE-52**

Science and Conscience

CIENCE is wisdom: conscience is a greater wisdom; if there should come a time when these two should be divorced from each other then Hell would be let loose on earth.

RABELAIS

criminal folly of war, and reveal the virtue of negotiation, because he knows that it is an issue which must be faced up to. War at its best is an attempt to solve countless grievances. and only by the substitution of negotiation can these grievances be remedied and war become unnecessary.

This is the pacifist's duty: to be vigilant at all times and use every opportunity to educate his fellow-men along these lines.

#### NOT IN VAIN

The Pope, the PPU and many others have appealed for peace—in vain, we are told. Posterity will honour those efforts. But until mankind has been intellectually conditioned to recognize the rightness of such appeals, then these appeals must continue to then these appeals must continue to be more or less abortive. Therefore the keynote of "peace by

negotiation must be, not so much an appeal to the peoole to press for negotiation, but rather to educate them to the inevitability of recognizing negotiation as the price of lasting peace. When such a state is reached, no appeal will be necessary—the people will act.

#### PRACTICAL RESULTS

What of the practical results? If the pacifists' most optimistic hopes are realized, then this war will end in a negotiated peace.

And if not, is all lost?
Emphatically no! For if, by his efforts, a modicum of reason has been introduced into the minds of the masses then such an influence must reflect in the chamber where the peace terms are dictated.
And THAT will be something

accomplished.

### HILTON IS NOW REGISTERED

STANLEY HILTON has been recognized as a genuine conscientious objector.

Having been sentenced to a year's imprisonment at his fifth court-martial on Oct. 26, he appealed on Dec. 10 to the Scottish Division of the Appellate Tribunal, whose decision was that he be recommended for dis-

was that he be recommended for discharge from the forces and registered as a CO on condition he does minework underground.

He may now expect to be discharged from the army and released from prison in the next week or two, states the Central Board for COs, but it is doubtful if he will feel able, on conscientious grounds, to comply with the condition of his registration.

\* \*

Maintaining that her work as an assistant

Maintaining that her work as an assistant librarian was more important for her to do than that of a hospital ward maid, to which she had been directed, and to which she objected also because it would be essential to the prosecution of the war, Celia June Harris, an active Coventry PPU member, was fined £5 on Dec. 13 for failing to comply with the direction. She refused to pay and was sent to prison for 28 days.

#### CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

Dear Children of God. By G. Stephens Spinks. Essex Hall Bookroom, 6d.

Spinks. Essex Hall Bookroom, bd. It is hard to believe in these bitter days that Christmas means very much to most people. But if—as the author believes—it is a time when even the most hardened and insensitive feel a softening influence, then the words of this little booklet will do much to make real to them the tragic significance of Christmas in war-time.

war-time.

All pacifists should read this message for the simplicity yet depth of its argument against war. Many will find it a suitable gift for friends whose humanitarian feelings they wish to rouse.

If only the message could be placed before all women war workers on Christmas morning!

R.F.R.

#### 40 MILLION UPROOTED BY THE WAR

Montreal. — More than 30,000,000 men, women, and children have been torn from their homes and their native soil in Europe since the beginning of the war, according to an estimate contained in an exhaustive study of the displacement of European populations published by the International Labour Office here.

nublished by the International Labour Office here.

This figure, the study points out, does not include millions of Europeans who, without having left their native countries, are not living at home because they have been conscripted for labour service or because of evacuation from bombed cities and coastal defence areas.

areas.
"If all these movements could be properly taken into account." the study says, "the result would certainly be a grand total of over forty million." (Worldover Press.)

## What Are YOU Going To be?

"Well, my boy, and what are you going to be?"

It is an old, old question, and there are many worse answers to it than that of wanting to be an engine driver. It is the question that life asks of every creature born on to this earth as it gives him the power to fulfil his wishes, writes

#### PIERS PLOWMAN

HAT does modern man want to be? If results are anything to go by, he wants to be a bank manager, a bishop, a KC, a research physicist, an authority on tropical disease—in fact a specialist in some field or other; but does he really want to be a man?

The world at present hasn't much room for men who are whole men first and specialists afterwards. The idea of Survival of the Fittest and the ruthless competition of society have led to the belief that unless a man can raise his commercial value by cornering a little of something shared by few other people—in other words. by acquiring specialist know-ledge of some kind or other, he is a mere man-in-the-street and about as useless,

#### ABUNDANT LIFE

This wouldn't be so bad if every man weren't born for the purpose of living life to the full, so that he frustrates his own purpose in so far as he concentrates on one little aspect of life to the inevitable exclusion of others. It is deeply true that a man's ultimate integrity depends on his ability to "see life whole"—and not in terms of £.s.d. or reaction to stimuli.

Mere search after objective know-ledge "for its own sake" or (for that matter) theological research is for men valueless unless it constantly refers back to essentially human values (things that can't be weighed or measured), for apart from these it loses its meaning. Yet the whole of our society is now designed to foster the specialized, the technical, the departmental approach to life while partmental approach to life, while life responds in the only possible way to such dissection-it dies.

For the whole is not the same as the sum of its parts—as any dissect-ing room can show us. We cannot delegate aspects of our existence to the appropriate expert while concentrating on one field and hope to remain beings with a significant philosophy for the world—spiritual and material. The scientist must be a philosopher, and the theologian must take account of the physical

### NATURAL GROWTH

Children know all about this-only they don't talk about it. They may have their own particular hobby, but there is generally no question of its being exclusive; the unformulated ambition is to be an "all-rounder."

In the natural line of development this embracing approach to life continues with growth till, at the period (generally round about School Cer-tificate) when "careers" are first seriously spoken of the mind seems to be like a growing vine drawing warmth and strength from many shoots thrown out in all directions.

The commercial vineyard can't afford space for such ramping and apparently unpromising growth; the best fruit is produced by drastic pruning. If the lad is going to continue his education he is told to concentrate on possibly two subjects (to the virtual exclusion of his other sources of wisdom) with a definite specialized "career" in mind.

specialized "career" in mind.

Is it surprising that numbers of university freshmen used to find that the matter they were spending all their time on was losing all true significance and was becoming irrelevant to life as a whole? Of course the cure-attempted for such a disease was a change of subject-probably for one equally specialized. For the roots of the trouble are not recognized even in the universities, And the universities, from being places where a man might find wisdom and an understanding of the nature of life,

## The Tube Driver and The Crofter

DOES INDUSTRIALISM INVOLVE DEHUMANIZATION? That is the question, and it is further discussed here

by RAYMOND O'MALLEY

T is "only human" to like comfort, freedom from perplexities, and powerful machinery: these are characteristics that we nearly all share. But they would not stand high on any scale of human values, and the loss of them would not constitute dehumanization; rather is it the loss of such powers and qualities as selfreliance, independence of spirit, endurance, the exercise of intelligence, prudence, courage, energy, resource, humility, respect for others, reverence, and sensitiveness to natural and man-made beauty (to mention only a few of the less controversial).

There is no need to be sentimental about crofting: whisky is certainly over-valued, lambs have sold for less than rabbits, the West Coast climate is atrocious, and "maggot" is as cruel as anything devised by man in pursuit of a just cause. None the less, crofting seems to me a useful instance of a humane mode of living.

The crofter is his own master. He has security of tenure, and his liveli-hood is demonstrably the product of his own skill and labour. His life is his own skill and labour. His life is a web of decisions—what to plough, when, where over-stocking begins, what ram will best suit his particular flock and ground, when to work and when to talk. . . . Many of his activities (ploughing, clipping, judging condition in cattle) call for widely varied skill, experience, and knowledge—let the doubting reader try his ledge—let the doubting reader try his hand at ploughing rocky ground. Usually he is bound to his neighbours by obvious interdependence. Every by obvious interdependence. Every casual meeting is a conversation, with no lurking boss to make it

His recreations still are mostly of his own making. Though he may think less of the pre-Raphaelite tinge of the bracken than of the way it is encroaching on the grazing, it would be a great mistake to suppose he is insensitive to his surroundings. And it is crofting and peasant communithe structure and personnel ties that have somehow developed Hebridean music, Breton dancing, and Russian embroidery, all of them Russian embroidery, all of them achievements beautiful beyond the dreams of the proletariat.

For all its limitations, such a mode of living, I submit, favours the growth of the characteristically human and humane qualities more than does the repetition-work to which an industrialized nation condemns many of its citizene.

industrialized nation condemns many of its citizens.

Compared with the crofter, the Tube driver is hardly more than a detachable part of the mechanism; sensitiveness to his environment would lead him straight to the madhouse. He may have an absorbing hobby, but if you ask him what he "is" he will not reply, "I am a violinist; I drive a Tube train in the mornings"; he will reply, "I am a Tube driver." The job comes foremost, it "places" him in his own estimation and the world's; and that will still be the case I suspect when his working hours are down to two or three a day.

Tube drivers and crofters are not very numerous; no one example is ever entirely representative, and it would be a mistake to labour this particular comparison unduly. But I think it is true that industrialism involves a general shift from jobs that resemble crofting more than Tube driving, to jobs that resemble Tube driving more than crofting. Of course that isn't the whole story, but in so far as industrialism inherently involves the shift, it believe, inherently dehumanising.

have become schools whose most effective func-tion is the production of technicians and specialists.

NEED TO REBUILD

The fact is that since the clean wind of modern scientific method swept away man's old conception of the cosmos and his resulting philosophy, there has been no man great enough to rebuild man's spiritual home in terms of twentieth century knowledge.

The world today has no philosophy which

The world today has no philosophy which nifies the specialized channels of thought and

ne worth today has no philosophy which unifies the specialized channels of thought and knowledge—and the consequences are disastrous: man is himself fundamentally disrupted, and war follows as night follows day. Man is at war with himself.

"Are not religion and politics the same thing? Brotherhood is religion": we in the PPU realize the deep truth of this, and in so doing I believe we prepare the ground for a true and living conception of man's life as a whole.

Such philosophers as the PPU has had have come nearer to integrating man's cruelly disjointed existence than those of the other most significant attempt—that represented by Niebuhr and Barth. For it is a fact that the pacifist is among the few in a warring society who have the chance to see life steadily, and see it whole.

Whether in fact we can produce among us a philosopher great enough to create a modern synthesis—to place knowledge in its true setting of wisdom—remains to be seen. But because such a thing has not yet been achieved mankind is at this moment bleeding to death. This man alone can finally close our wounds. Such philosophers as the PPU has had have

#### LETTERS to the EDITOR

Owing to the large number of claims on our severe, dimited space, correspond-ents are urged to keep their letters very brief and preferably under 250 words

## We Were Wrong About the R.A.F.

IT is a sad, if salutary, duty to point out where Peace News has been wrong about this war. I forget whether it was at the time of the German bombing of Rotterdam or later that "Observer" stated his opinion that the RAF would be incapable of such a vile deed. I accredcapable of such a vile deed. I agreed. The present orgy of "cookies" and "blockbusters" and phosphorus cans proves how hopelessly wrong we were.

It happens that neither side in this war is deterred by moral considera-tions, only by the limitations of science and man-power. Having succeeded, with the aid of our subscription\_list of Allies, in out-producing the European fortress, we proceed to out-Nazi the Nazis. Perhaps the young men who commit these nightly murders will one day tear the blinkers from their minds and shy in the shafts. They are building themselves a hell of remorse.

It is interesting to note (as Vera Brittain reveals in her current Peace Letter, quoting the American Time) that the chief beautiful bomber, Sir Arthur Harris, the man who almost nightly condemns to horrible death thousands of German women and children and hundreds of British airmen, served his apprenticeship to the trade of air-massacre by developing "the 'pacification by bombing' policy which kept unruly Indian tribes more or less under control" in

the years between the wars.
Charred and shattered bodies in Hamburg and Berlin—emaciated near-corpses littering the Calcutta streets (too weak to be "unruly" and so qualify for bombing)—wine and conviviality at Teheran: different victims; the rulers and the policies the same or very similar.

Who says this war isn't global?

92 Fulwood Rd., Aigburth, Liverpool 17.

## Pacifists' "Will to Pessimism"

Pacifists are usually pessimists. At every stage of the war the pacifist movement, both in its journals and at its meetings, has shown a preference for the least optimistic of any number of alternative opinions. Normally this is taken by pacifists to indicate their maturity and realism, and is sometimes even made the basis of a pharisaical pride which does not hesitate to say "we are not as other men are!" For myself, I am far from confident that this pessimism is anything to be proud of.

Let us consider its peculiarities. First of all.

pessimism is anything to be proud of.

Let us consider its peculiarities. First of all, it is usually thoughtless and immediate; sometimes it is even automatic. It is, in brief, a settled expectation of disaster which almost invariably goes beyond the facts. Frequently, when listening to the first comments of pacifists upon some political or social development of apparent importance, I have been astonished by the way in which they have given tongue to a characteristic jeremiad without first pausing to consider the complexity of the subject or even to familiarize themselves with the principal facts. or even to fa principal facts.

principal facts.

Again, this pessimism is seldom accompanied by depression. One can listen to the most disheartening prophecies at pacifist meetings, and then, on looking round, discover that they have been accepted with an equanimity bordering upon satisfaction. Indeed, it sometimes seems that the darker the social horizon is painted, the brighter is the time that is had by all. I can only conclude from these facts that there is in the pacifist movement a powerful will to pessimism, a definite reluctance to look on the bright side of things.

But how is this to be accounted for? I do

But how is this to be accounted for? I do not think it is over-cynical to suggest that it is due to a doctrinal interest in things going wrong. There are many pacifists who are so anxious to prove their point that they are systematically reducing this world-wide catastrophe of war into a mere argument for the necessity of pacifism. For them, pacifism has become more important than peace, and they will sleep as easily in their beds as the sirens will let them if only after the war is over they will have an opportunity of rounding on the disillusioned surviving militarists with a satanic "we told you so!"

HOWARD HORSBURGH But how is this to be accounted for?

HOWARD HORSBURGH

Glenmore, Dunoon, Argyll.

#### Personal Responsibility

In his article on the "Mechanization of Society," Harold Bing says that workers in his factory have no objection to repetitive jobs provided hours and conditions are reasonable; he takes this as a proof that repetitive jobs are

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

i RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS, \* Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

## Headquarters

I imagine that the members of the I imagine that the members of the PPU are anxious to see a society in which each person counts. Therefore, within our Movement we shall be concerned to know people personally and by name, rather than merely as cogs in a machine. And so I want, at this Christmas time, to mention to you by name those who work for the Movement at Dick Sheppard House.

A T the top of the building there is Jack Carruthers. (Pacifist Service Units are also there; but they are an independent organization—and pay rent!) He is in charge of the Pacifist Service Bureau, which is concerned mainly with finding suitable jobs for COs—also with helping employers such as hospitals and social service organizations to obtain staff. Norah Riesco is his typist and assistant.

Below him are Accounts and Pacetal Description.

Norah Riesco is his typist and assistant.

Below him are Accounts and Records Departments. Frank Middleton is well known to you over a number of years as our Accountant. Mrs. Slaytor, his colleague, has also served us well for many years; but is now, for health reasons, about to leave us. Audrey Smith, who was at the Rest House in Chelsea, is taking her place. Lilla Tansley, from Birmingham, has the responsible job, with Mrs. Bryan, of looking after our 100,000 membership cards. Among other things, they are gradually bringing us closer to a real live membership figure.

Una Forward, on the same floor, is in charge

Una Forward, on the same floor, is in charge of invoices, office equipment, duplicating; as well as some typing for Roy Walker.

The second floor is occupied by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors—a kindred but distinct organization.

on the first floor Roy Walker directs Food Relief work, studying all manner of papers, and turning out many pamphlets. He also looks after Study and Non-Violence activities (as well as writing books in his spare time). Howard Whitten, his part-time Food Relief colleague, is in prison till mid-January; in the meantime, Ronald Smith does his work. Next door Albert Tomlinson, our Development Secretary, has his large map of Great Britain, and occasionally returns from some distant journey to study it! My own room is on the same floor, where (in spite of rumours to the contrary!) I sometimes work. Daphne Kiek. one of the oldest members of staff in terms of service, is an invaluable secretary.

service, is an invaluable secretary.

In the Reception Room Eileen Ager sees to the telephone, deals with an amazing variety of customers and inquiries, as well as helping considerably with the Bookshop. Since Ken Sheppard has left us, this is being managed by John Peck, until Henry Rutland comes out of prison.

In the basement, and all over the place, George Pennington is to be found; ex-sailor—he is now caretaker, cleaner, repairs supervisor, assistant firewatcher, and adviser of all!

For what they are worth, I add the following comments:

1. Some jobs are much more dull than others; but no job is unimportant. We are inter-dependent—one body. If anyone makes a mistake, we all suffer.

2. I do not consider that the same number of people could do much more work. I hope that the next Annual General Meeting will bear this in mind when passing resolutions that involve the development of a new side to our work. No objection, provided more money is found for additional staff.

3. As a newcomer, I suggest that we are considerably indebted to the present staff. It is a privilege to work here; but it cannot always have been easy to hold together, as they have done so well during the last few years.

Thank you for your patience and appreciation. Christmas Greetings to

### PATRICK FIGGIS

The London Area is issuing campaign notes to groups to help them in their public activities. The first issue contains news and suggestions relating to the Negotiated Peace Campaign, the Food Relief Campaign, and the Indian Freedom Campaign ampaign.

The Prison Medical Reform Council has just completed its first year of existence. Copies of the first annual report and accounts, giving details of activity in that period, may be obtained from The Secretary at 5 Lower Camden, Chislehurst, Kent.

not soul-destroying. It seems to me that anyone who in Mr. Bing's words "has no desire to
exercise personal responsibility, or to have the
burden of thought and decision in their daily
work" must suffer from a stone dead, utterly
annihilated soul.

Mr. Bing, apparently, by light conversation
and a truncated intellectual existence, imagines he saves himself from becoming spiritually benumbed. But it is inconceivable to me
that any man can fully live who does not
exercise full personal responsibility for every
hour of his life.

JOHN BATE

JOHN BATE Private, N.C.C.

## "Difficult People"

"Last time," in England, they called them "troublesome people." Now, in New Zealand, "although comparatively few in number, conscientious objectors have proved to be by far the most difficult section of the population to deal with in the matter of national service," according to the official report of the National Service

Department.

So far 5,815 men (1.8% of the total registered) have appealed on conscientious grounds. Of these 3,864 were single and 1,961 married. Out of the first 4,504 cases heard only 554 were allowed and 1,124 given non-combatant duties. Early this year 614 men were detained in defaulters

IN the United States, according to

IN the United States, according to an article in the American magazine Common Sense, written by Jay Nelson Tuck,
"The Department (of Justice) said early this year that a total of 1,695 objectors—not including draft dodgers—had been sentenced to paison under the current draft law. Since then COs have been going to prison at the rate of 150 or more a month. In recent months a number of these have been men who have served terms for one offence, such as refusal to register, and are convicted again for another, such as refusing to take a medical examination."

Having observed that in his oninion

Having observed that in his opinion COs are receiving "generous" treatment, a Selective Service official received from one of them in a Civilian Public Service camp a letter which said of the CPS:

said of the CPS:

"Conscientious objectors are the only minority in the United States who are compelled to perform hard physical labour under the threat of imprisonment, without pay, without provision for dependents, without adequate medical care, without planned recreation, and under numerous petty restrictions... Realizing the exigencies of wartime, I expect to make sacrifices, but I strongly object to being exploited by a Government willing to take advantage of an opportunity to exact free labour..."

In a plea for "fairer treatment for conscientious objectors." directed to Major Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, head of Selective Service, and Attorney General Francis Biddle, the American Civil Liberties Union, over the

Civil Liberties Union, over the signatures of nineteen Americans "none of whom is a pacifist," urged a nine-point program of changes in the

system.
The Call (journal of the US Socialist Party), Oct. 28, gives these

Socialist Party), Oct. 28, gives these points as:

"A more liberal basis for recognizing conscience: establishment of a uniform national policy in the appeals system; removal of military officers from the civilian functions of handling Presidential appeals, paroles, and the direction of work camps: individual assignments to civilian jobs 'as in World War I and in England,' instead of work camps: provision for pay equal to a soldier's, as in World War I and parole to useful occupations of a large part of the 1,500 'genuine objectors in prison' convicted for 'technical offences'."

#### you should have all these

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efforts. (Profits on address slips—7s. 6d. 1,000—to be devoted to the cause)

Information from the Organiser: W. J. BRIGDEN, Esperanto Lecturer, Tutor and Publicist, 125 Drakefield Rd., London, S.W.17.

## A MAYOR CONDEMNS THE WAR

## "Betrayal of Christ"

HRISTIANITY and this bloody business of war are quite in-compatible," said Mrs. Rosina Davies, a Baptist minister, in an address on the occasion of her recent selection as Mayor of Cardigan Town. She added (according to the report in Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Dec. 1, translated for us by a Pontypridd correspondent):

correspondent):

"We have betrayed Christ as certainly as Judas did for the sake of expediency, hoping to avoid the consequences. We have placed our Christian principles on one side for the duration, believing that we can bring them out again in the same way when the killing ends. Our churches and our Sundays have become unimportant to the masses except for the purpose of military displays.
"I am proud to be the first woman in the borough to wear the chain of office and to swear allegiance to the King, but I am bound to another chain—allegiance to my Christian vows and beliefs. I consider some of the things that a Mayor is expected to do completely contrary to that which I believe to be the duty of a follower of Christ, The leaders of this town should erect a new moral and spiritual structure based upon the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth.

EVIL CONSEQUENCES

"The moral and spiritual destruction which

The moral and spiritual destruction which follows war is much worse, than even the physical destruction. For years I have been convinced that nothing which is gained from war can make up for the terrific material, physical, moral, and spiritual loss. What is mankind profited if it gain the whole world and lose its soul?

"I see nothing for the future but catastropheunless the leaders of the nations can find some way of settling their differences apart from the sacrifice of the youth of one generation after another. The only remedy is to practise the moral law as preached by the Carpenter's Son."

Son."

After referring to some of the immoral consequences of war, such as the increase in drurkenness, gambling, and VD, she added: "And yet we in this town consider it our duty

## Think of the Children!

Those of you who have little children can go and kiss them goodbye, for unless this treaty is altered, and altered drastically, the mark of death is on their brows."

THESE prophetic words of E. D. Morel concerning the Versailles Treaty are quoted in a leaflet which is being distributed by Henry Hilditch, the Christian Socialist cardidate, in preparation for the forthcoming by-election in Kirkcaldy Burghs. He warns against making the same mistake again by making another dictated peace.

another dictated peace.

"There are two alternatives. A dictated peace treaty or a fair and reasonable treaty—just to all peoples.

"You may feel that, regrettable though it is, the first is the guarantee against further aggression. Did we not think that in 1919? Are you not a little afraid that Morel's prophetic words may apply to your children?

"You do not intend, at least, that there shall be a repetition of all the old mistakes. But the only sure guarantee of a treaty being kept is

only sure guarantee of a treaty being kept is that it is fair; that it respects human personality, provides good homes, food and education, care for the aged and for children, a reasonable standard for the ordinary people like you and me—everywhere, of whatever country.

me—everywhere, of whatever country.

"I believe that both dictatorship and capitalism are a denial of that kind of peace. Such a peace needs the co-operation of ordinary folk everywhere. This co-operation can only be won by stating NOW the terms we desire both for Europe and this country; by saying we will negotiate with anyone, co-operate with anyone, who also desires that kind of peace.

to support movements which direct our boys and girls to prepare for the slaughter.

"Let us guard against the glorification of war. There is nothing that irritates one more than the invocation of the divine blessing upon man's destructive weapons—although the leaders of the Church support this pagan practice. Either we are totally imports or electrice. leaders of the Church support this pagan practice. Either we are totally ignorant, or else thoroughly hypocritical."

"We should also need to give a token of our sincerity by introducing better and more equal social conditions in our own country—and offering free democratic government to India—NOW.

"The question I wish you to ask yourself is, which is the better way?

"If you think unconditional surrender and a dictated peace, I can only remind you of the warning given by E. D. Morel a generation ago.

ago.
"If you think the second is the better, are you not more likely to get it by offering to negotiate on this basis?"

#### CANDIDATES IN NEW ZEALAND

The secretary of the New Zealand Peace Pledge Union (N. C. Bradley, P.O. Box 816 Christchurch) has sent fuller details than have yet appeared

fuller details than have yet appeared in this country of the stand for pacifism made by four candidates in the recent General Election.

Ron Howell (Independent) polled 112 for an Auckland seat; A. C. Barrington (Christian Pacifist) 251, and A. H. Carmen (Independent) 295 in Wellington; and Lincoln Efford (Peace Candidate) 259 in Christchurch South. The total poll in each of those constituencies varied between 8,000 and 12,000.

Pacifists feel "fully satisfied with the results achieved." Not only was it a great opportunity to put their point of view before the public, but the figures themselves are far from discouraging. For Lincoln Efford has more than doubled the vote he got last February when he contested a by-election in the neighbouring constituency of Christchurch East.

A plea for a lull in bombing activities during Christmas was made in a resolution passed at the December meeting of the London Area of the

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Grasmere 129.

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LITERATURE, &c.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

### MEETINGS, &c.

NORTHAMPTON P.P.U. Breakfast, 8.30, Jan. 1. R. Clifford Barrie (Shrewsbury), "My Quest."

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SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

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